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Dan Smoot Report

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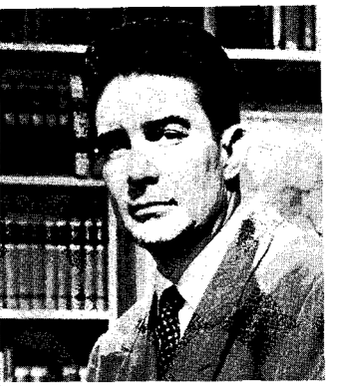

DAN SMOOT

HOW THEY STAND

On the night of June 2, 1964, when early reports on the California primary indicated that Senator Barry Goldwater would win over Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, Senator Jacob K. Javits (Republican, New York—a Rockefeller supporter) was interviewed on television. Evincing dismay at the large vote for Goldwater, Javits said Goldwater represents only the "fringe" in the Republican Party and in American life. He called this "fringe," and Senator Goldwater himself, "irresponsible." He placed Goldwater completely outside the "mainstream" of American and Republican Party thought. Javits hoped Goldwater (now thrust into the position of serious contender for Republican nomination) might realize his responsibility, and become more responsive to Eisenhower Republicanism — might modify his "fringe positions" and join the mainstream: that is, the liberal, Eisenhower-Rockefeller-Lodge-Javits stream.

Senator Javits is the worst (most liberal) Republican in the United States Senate, as shown by percentage tabulations in this *Report.* His implied counsel to Goldwater, however, is worthy of note—because it has been echoed by other prominent liberals (and self-styled moderates) in the Republican Party. Javits, in effect, counsels Goldwater to forsake the philosophy and the people responsible for Goldwater's political strength.

On June 8, 1964, three Republican governors (attending a National Governors' Conference in Cleveland, Ohio) also notified Goldwater that he must change. Nelson A. Rockefeller (Governor of New York), William W. Scranton (Governor of Pennsylvania), and George Romney (Governor of Michigan) made public statements warning Goldwater that, *if* he gets the nomination, he must "alter his conservative image" or lose in their states.

Goldwater, within striking distance of the White House today, holds the increasing support of millions of Americans *because* of his "conservative image." Rockefeller's California campaign (costing an estimated two million dollars) was professionally organized by "image" experts. Goldwater's campaign, in its financing and organizing, was, by contrast, amateurish. Rockefeller mil-

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lions and Madison-Avenue techniques could not, however, overcome the fact that a majority of California Republicans know what Goldwater stands for, and enthusiastically approve.

Goldwater can win in November — even against that master politician, and matchless wielder of governmental power, Lyndon B. Johnson — *if* Goldwater is not swayed by the counsel of liberals (and "moderates"). If Goldwater yields to liberal pressures, he will defeat himself.

In 1952, the American people, voting for a promised change in federal policy, elected Dwight D. Eisenhower. They waited in vain for eight years. Republican Party policy makers should face this fact: they *cannot* win without the support of conservative Democrats and independents. They *cannot* get that support with a rehashed edition of their 1960 platform and a warmed-over version of their 1960 candidate, presenting a nebulous philosophy of "moderation" — neither fish nor fowl, ludicrously expounded, with feeble attempts at originality. In 1964, a Republican Party platform and candidate which are carbon copies of what Democrats offer will, again, have no appeal. Carbon copies blur easily. They never equal the original.

Senator Goldwater's political assignment is to assert, unequivocally, that he will *not* moderate or compromise his conservative principles — for party harmony, for the Presidency, or for any other purpose. A presentation of virile conviction would capture the imagination and the votes of a people who are steeped in traditions of independence — who are weary of the sickly, meaningless semantics of partisan politics.

Most politicians talk better than they act. On the contrary, Senator Goldwater sometimes *says* things that make many constitutional conservatives wince; but in *action* — in standing up to be counted for roll-call votes on vital issues before the national Congress — Barry Goldwater is the best man in the United States Senate.

In contrast to Goldwater, there is a certain United States Representative who consistently talks like a real conservative; but, in my *Report,* his rating as a constitutional conservative is low, because of the way he votes. He recently complained that my ratings are unfair, and cited two examples.

In 1963, he helped write and voted for the Clean Air Bill and the Vocational Education Bill. I recorded both votes as *liberal* — that is, against constitutional principles. This Representative defended himself by saying he *believes* in clean air and vocational education. *I do too;* but the Constitution does not authorize our federal government to spend tax money on any such programs. We must get the federal bureaucrats out of *all* unconstitutional activities so that we can keep our own money to do things that need doing — do them right, and at reasonable cost. Moreover, freedom for *all* is more important than government efforts to provide clean air and vocational education for *some.*

This Representative said his Clean Air Bill authorized a *moderate* program of federal aid for air-pollution control; but, he mourned, the Senate rewrote his Bill, enlarging its scope beyond all reason, making the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare a virtual dictator, empowered to do almost anything under pretext of promoting clean air. He said the same thing happened to his *moderate* Vocational Education Bill. He voted *against* Senate versions of both Bills, when they came back to the House for final passage. I did not record these two votes. This is the main reason he thinks me unfair. I charged him with *liberal* votes when he supported the two modest bills, but did not credit him with *conservative* votes when he opposed the prodigal versions.

He unlocked the door to admit two tame, lovable, little unconstitutional programs. When the door cracked open, they swelled into monsters, bowling him over as they crowded in. He is chargeable with the unconstitutional act of unlocking the door in the first place. He is due no credit for sprawling helplessly on the floor after the damage was done.

I agree with Thomas Jefferson (author of the Declaration of Independence) and with James

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Madison (Father of the Constitution) that the federal government can not legally do anything (no matter how seemingly desirable or widely approved) that is not clearly authorized by some specific grant of power in the Constitution. Any action of the federal government not patently authorized by the Constitution is illegal, *unconstitutional* — regardless of Supreme Court decisions; of presidential decrees; of previous congressional acts; or of treaties with foreign nations.

In selecting roll calls to tabulate, I eliminate those which merely reflect *moderate versus extravagant spending; Republicans versus Democrats; middle-of-the-roadism versus extremist-liberalism; limited versus total surrender of national sovereignty.* I select votes which show legislators *for* or *against* the principle that government must implicitly obey the Constitution (as ordained, adopted, and *legally* amended); *for* or *against* maintaining the absolute national sovereignty of the United States; *for* or *against* measures to defend *our* nation against all enemies, foreign or domestic.

In previous issues of this *Report* (May 27, August 26, September 29, December 30, 1963; January 6 and June 15, 1964), I discussed and tabulated the 95 most significant roll-call votes in the 88th Congress. In this issue, I tabulate one roll call in the House. Ratings in this *Report* reflect voting of Senators on 54 roll calls since the 88th Congress convened in January, 1963; voting of Representatives on 42 roll calls. The percentages are the conservative ratings which legislators earned by their recorded stands — 100% being a perfect conservative rating.

Best Senators

Of 100 Senators, only 21 had conservative ratings of 60% or better on 54 roll call votes from January, 1963, through June 1, 1964 (13 Republicans, 8 Democrats):

*Goldwater (Rep., Ariz.)	96
Thurmond (Dem., S. C.)	94
Tower (Rep., Tex.)	92
Simpson (Rep., Wyo.)	88
Curtis (Rep., Neb.)	87
*Mechem (Rep., N. M.)	86
*Byrd (Dem., Va.)	84
*Hruska (Rep., Neb.)	83
Bennett (Rep., Utah)	79
Robertson (Dem., Va.)	76
Lausche (Dem., Ohio)	71
*Stennis (Dem., Miss.)	70
Russell (Dem., Ga.)	69
Jordan (Rep., Ida.)	68
Eastland (Dem., Miss.)	67
Mundt (Rep., S. D.)	67
Dominick (Rep., Colo.)	66
McClellan (Dem., Ark.)	65
*Williams (Rep., Dela.)	65
Cotton (Rep., N. H.)	64
Miller (Rep., Iowa)	61

*Goldwater, Mechem, Byrd, Hruska, Stennis, and Williams are up for re-election this year. Mechem (an appointee) will actually be running for the Senate for the first time.

Worst Republican Senators

Fourteen Republican Senators earned conservative ratings of 35% or less:

Javits (N. Y.)	6
*Keating (N. Y.)	9
Case (N. J.)	11
*Scott (Pa.)	15
Kuchel (Calif.)	17
*Fong (Haw.)	19
Aiken (Vt.)	23
Cooper (Ky.)	25
*Beall (Md.)	28
Smith (Me.)	31
*Prouty (Vt.)	31
Boggs (Dela.)	34
Morton (Ky.)	34
Saltonstall (Mass.)	35

*Keating, Scott, Fong, Beall, and Prouty are up for re-election this year.

Worst Democrat Senators

Sixteen Democrat Senators earned conservative ratings of 4% or less:

Clark (Pa.)	0
*Hart (Mich.)	0
Humphrey (Minn.)	0
McGovern (S. D.)	0
*Kennedy (Mass.)	2
Long (Mo.)	2

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*McCarthy (Minn.)	2
McNamara (Mich.)	2
Neuberger (Ore.)	2
*Pastore (R. I.)	2
Pell (R. I.)	2
Ribicoff (Conn.)	2
Bayh (Ind.)	4
Magnuson (Wash.)	4
Nelson (Wisc.)	4
Williams (N. J.)	4

*Hart, Kennedy, McCarthy, and Pastore are up for re-election this year.

Credit To Communists

As explained before, ratings of U. S. Representatives herein published were earned by their votes on 42 important roll-call votes (from January, 1963 to June 1, 1964). Forty-one of the roll-calls were discussed and tabulated in previous issues of this *Report*. One is tabulated in this issue. On May 20, 1964, the House (by a stand of 201 to 200) defeated an amendment to the Agriculture Department appropriations bill (HR 11202) which would have prohibited use of any of the funds for export payments or subsidies on farm products shipped to communist nations. It is likely that this amendment would not have been defeated if several representatives (on record as approving it) had not been absent on official business when the vote was taken. The tabulation in Column 12 under *House* shows not only the actual vote on the defeated amendment, but also the recorded stand of Representatives who were not present to vote. C indicates a conservative stand against the use of taxpayers' money to subsidize export of U. S. farm products to communist nations.

Best In The House

The House of Representatives is the best in a generation: it has rejected or delayed a majority of the unconstitutional, totalitarian programs proposed by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. In 1962, only 83 U. S. Representatives in the 87th Congress earned conservative ratings of 60% or better. In the first 17 months of the 88th Congress, however, 159 Representatives earned ratings of 60% or better — 130 Republicans, 29 Democrats. On 42 roll calls tabulated in this *Report* since the beginning of the 88th Congress in January, 1963, 60 U. S. Representatives earned conservative ratings of 80% or better:

100—Baker (Rep., Tenn.), Beermann (Rep., Neb.)

98—Ashbrook (Rep., Ohio), Johansen (Rep., Mich.)

95—Alger (Rep., Tex.), Foreman (Rep., Tex.), Pool (Dem., Tex.)

93—Haley (Dem., Fla..), Hall (Rep., Mo.), Martin (Rep., Neb.), Quillen (Rep., Tenn.), Utt (Rep., Calif.)

91—Hoffman (Rep., Ill.)

90—Abele (Rep., Ohio), Bruce (Rep., Ind.), Gurney (Rep., Fla.), Snyder (Rep., Ky.), Winstead (Dem., Miss.)

89—Kilburn (Rep., N. Y.), Minshall (Rep., Ohio), Van Pelt (Rep., Wisc.), Williams (Dem., Miss.)

88—Belcher (Rep., Okla.), Clancy (Rep., Ohio), Cunningham (Rep., Neb.), Gross (Rep., Iowa), Hutchinson (Rep., Mich.)

86—Dole (Rep., Kans.), Jensen (Rep., Iowa)

85—Collier (Rep., Ill.), Devine (Rep., Ohio), Lipscomb (Rep., Calif.), McLoskey (Rep., Ill.), Pillion (Rep., N. Y.), Short (Rep., N. D.)

84—Abernathy (Dem., Miss.), Waggonner (Dem., La.)

83—Baring (Dem., Nev.), Clawson (Rep., Calif.), Cramer (Rep., Fla.), Dorn (Dem., S. C.), Fisher (Dem., Tex.), Hoeven (Rep., Iowa), King (Rep., N. Y.), Martin (Rep., Calif.), Michel (Rep., Ill.), Schadeberg (Rep., Wisc.), Smith (Rep., Calif.)

82—Colmer (Dem., Miss.), Derwinski (Rep., Ill.)

81—Abbitt (Dem., Va.), Berry (Rep., S. D.), Knox (Rep., Mich.), Reid (Rep., Ill.), Tuck (Dem., Va.), Westland (Rep., Wash.)

80—Becker (Rep., N. Y.), Broyhill (Rep., N. C.), Latta (Rep., Ohio), McClory (Rep., Ill.), Norblad (Rep., Ore.), Stinson (Rep., Wash.)

Of the top 60, 48 are Republicans; 12 are Democrats; 14 are serving in their first Congress: Abele, Baker, Broyhill, Clawson, Foreman, Gurney, Hutchinson, Martin of California, McClory, McLoskey, Pool, Quillen, Reid, Snyder.

Worst In The House

The worst Republican in the House is John V. Lindsay of New York City, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. His conservative rating is 34%. Seven Democrats earned zero ratings: Burton (Calif.), Dingell (Mich.), Fraser (Minn.), Gill (Haw.), Green (Pa.), Staebler (Mich.), Thompson (N. J.).

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VOTING RECORDS

The capital letter in parentheses after each legislator's name indicates his party. The "%" column shows his conservative percentage rating. The "C" column shows the number of conservative votes. The "L" column shows the number of liberal votes. The "NV" column shows the number of times the legislator was absent or did not take a public stand.

SENATE

Ratings of Senators are based on 54 roll call votes tabulated in 6 issues of this Report (May 27, August 26, September 9, December 30, 1963; January 6 and June 8, 1964).

An asterisk ("*") notes Senators who are up for re-election. Senators Engle and Walters have announced their retirements, Senator Edmondson was defeated in the Oklahoma Democrat Primary.

	%	C	L	NV
ALABAMA				
Hill, Lister (D)	34	17	33	4
Sparkman, John J. (D)	26	13	37	4
ALASKA				
Bartlett, E. L. (D)	15	8	46	0
Gruening, Ernest (D)	16	8	43	3
ARIZONA				
*Goldwater, Barry (R)	96	46	2	6
Hayden, Carl (D)	20	9	37	8
ARKANSAS				
Fulbright, J. William (D)	16	7	38	9
McClellan, John L. (D)	65	34	18	2
CALIFORNIA				
*Engle, Clair (D)	8	4	44	6
Kuchel, Thomas H. (R)	17	9	45	0
COLORADO				
Allott, Gordon (R)	57	30	23	1
Dominick, Peter H. (R)	66	35	18	1
CONNECTICUT				
*Dodd, Thomas J. (D)	10	5	47	2
Ribicoff, Abraham A. (D)	2	1	51	2
DELAWARE				
Boggs, J. Caleb (R)	34	18	35	1
*Williams, John J. (R)	65	35	19	0
FLORIDA				
*Holland, Spessard L. (D)	46	25	29	0
Smathers, Georga A. (D)	28	14	36	4
GEORGIA				
Russell, Richard B. (D)	69	35	16	3
Talmadge, Herman E. (D)	55	29	24	1
HAWAII				
*Fong, Hiram L. (R)	19	10	44	0
Inouye, Daniel K. (D)	7	4	50	0
IDAHO				
Church, Frank (D)	8	4	49	1
Jordan, Len B. (R)	68	36	17	1
ILLINOIS				
Dirksen, Everett M. (R)	57	30	23	1
Douglas, Paul H. (D)	9	5	49	0
INDIANA				
Bayh, Birch (D)	4	2	51	1
*Hartke, R. Vance (D)	6	3	48	3
IOWA				
Hickenlooper, Bourke B. (R)	56	29	22	3
Miller, Jack (R)	61	33	21	0
KANSAS				
Carlson, Frank (R)	42	22	30	2
Pearson, James B. (R)	45	24	29	1
KENTUCKY				
Cooper, John Sherman (R)	25	13	40	1
Morton, Thruston B. (R)	34	17	33	4
LOUISIANA				
Ellender, Allen J. (D)	58	31	22	1
Long, Russell B. (D)	42	22	31	1
MAINE				
*Muskie, Edmund S. (D)	7	4	50	0
Smith, Margaret Chase (R)	31	17	37	0
MARYLAND				
*Beall, J. Glenn (R)	28	15	39	0
Brewster, Daniel B. (D)	11	6	48	0
MASSACHUSETTS				
*Kennedy, Edward M. (D)	2	1	52	1
Saltonstall, Leverett (R)	35	17	32	5
MICHIGAN				
*Hart, Philip A. (D)	0	0	51	3
McNamara, Pat (D)	2	1	52	1
MINNESOTA				
Humphrey, Hubert H. (D)	0	0	54	0
*McCarthy, Eugene J. (D)	2	1	53	0
MISSISSIPPI				
Eastland, James O. (D)	67	35	17	2
*Stennis, John (D)	70	37	16	1
MISSOURI				
Long, Edward V. (D)	2	1	51	2
*Symington, Stuart (D)	9	5	48	1
MONTANA				
*Mansfield, Michael J. (D)	13	7	47	0
Metcalf, Lee (D)	6	3	51	0
NEBRASKA				
Curtis, Carl T. (R)	87	47	7	0
*Hruska, Roman L. (R)	83	45	9	0
NEVADA				
Bible, Alan (D)	33	17	35	2
*Cannon, Howard W. (D)	27	14	37	3
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Cotton, Norris (R)	64	29	16	9
McIntyre, Thomas J. (D)	11	6	48	0
NEW JERSEY				
Case, Clifford P. (R)	11	6	46	2
*Williams, Harrison A., Jr. (D)	4	2	52	0
NEW MEXICO				
Anderson, Clinton P. (D)	11	5	42	7
*Mechem, Edwin L. (R)	86	42	7	5
NEW YORK				
Javits, Jacob K. (R)	6	3	51	0
*Keating, Kenneth B. (R)	9	5	49	0
NORTH CAROLINA				
Ervin, Sam J., Jr. (D)	58	30	21	3
Jordan, B. Everett (D)	47	24	27	3
NORTH DAKOTA				
*Burdick, Quentin N. (D)	8	4	49	1
Young, Milton R. (R)	48	23	25	6
OHIO				
Lausche, Frank J. (D)	71	37	15	2
*Young, Stephen M. (D)	10	5	47	2
OKLAHOMA				
*Edmondson, J. Howard (D)	33	17	34	3
Monroney, A. S. (Mike) (D)	19	10	43	1
OREGON				
Morse, Wayne (D)	23	12	41	1
Neuberger, Maurine B. (D)	2	1	50	3
PENNSYLVANIA				
Clark, Joseph S., Jr. (D)	0	0	54	0
*Scott, Hugh (R)	15	8	46	0
RHODE ISLAND				
*Pastore, John O. (D)	2	1	53	0
Pell, Claiborne (D)	2	1	53	0
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Johnston, Olin D. (D)	36	19	35	0
Thurmond, Strom (D)	94	50	3	1
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern, George (D)	0	0	54	0
Mundt, Karl E. (R)	67	34	17	3
TENNESSEE				
*Gore, Albert (D)	20	10	39	5
*Walters, Herbert S. (D)	23	7	23	1
TEXAS				
Tower, John G. (R)	92	48	4	2
*Yarborough, Ralph W. (D)	8	4	49	1
UTAH				
Bennett, Wallace F. (R)	79	42	11	1
*Moss, Frank E. (D)	8	4	43	7
VERMONT				
Aiken, George D. (R)	23	12	40	2
*Prouty, Winston L. (R)	31	16	35	3
VIRGINIA				
*Byrd, Harry Flood (D)	84	43	8	3
Robertson, A. Willis (D)	76	39	12	3
WASHINGTON				
*Jackson, Henry M. (D)	7	8	46	0
Magnuson, Warren G. (D)	4	2	51	1
WEST VIRGINIA				
*Byrd, Robert C. (D)	22	12	42	0
Randolph, Jennings (D)	6	3	51	0
WISCONSIN				
Nelson, Gaylord A. (D)	4	2	51	1
*Proxmire, William (D)	30	16	38	0
WYOMING				
*McGee, Gale W. (D)	11	6	47	1
Simpson, Milward L. (R)	88	43	6	5

HOUSE

Ratings of Representatives are based on 42 roll call votes tabulated in 6 issues of this Report (May 27, August 26, September 9, December 30, 1963; June 8, and June 15, 1964). A "C" indicates a conservative stand. An "L" indicates a liberal stand. A "O" indicates the Representative was either absent or did not take a public stand.

Column #12 -- Ban Credit to communist nations, HR 11202

	%	C	L	NV	12
ALABAMA					
Andrews, George W. (D)	70	28	12	2	O
Elliott, Carl (D)	9	3	31	8	O
Grant, George M. (D)	63	19	11	12	O
Huddleston, George, Jr. (D)	65	26	14	2	O
Jones, Robert E. (D)	21	7	27	8	O
Rains, Albert (D)	19	6	25	11	L
Roberts, Kenneth A. (D)	24	8	25	9	O
Selden, Armistead I., Jr. (D)	50	20	20	2	O
ALASKA					
Rivers, Ralph J. (D)	7	3	38	1	L
ARIZONA					
Rhodes, John J. (R)	71	27	11	4	C
Senner, George F., Jr. (D)	11	4	33	5	L
Udall, Morris K. (D)	12	5	36	1	L
ARKANSAS					
Gathings, E. C. (D)	64	27	15	0	L
Harris, Oren (D)	24	9	28	5	L
Mills, Wilbur D. (D)	26	10	29	3	L
Trimble, James W. (D)	12	4	29	9	L
CALIFORNIA					
Baldwin, John F., Jr. (R)	52	22	20	0	C
Bell, Alphonzo E., Jr. (R)	56	23	18	1	C
Brown, George E., Jr. (D)	3	1	37	4	L
Burkhalter, Everett G. (D)	11	4	33	5	L
Burton, Phillip (D)	0	0	6	0	L
Cameron, Ronald B. (D)	15	6	34	2	L
Clausen, Don H. (R)	68	26	12	4	C
Clawson, Del (R)	83	21	5	3	C
Cohelan, Jeffery (D)	8	3	37	2	L
Corman, James C. (D)	3	1	38	3	L
Edwards, W. Donlon (D)	5	2	39	1	L
Gubser, Charles S. (R)	65	24	13	5	C
Hagen, Harlan (D)	10	4	35	3	L
Hanna, Richard T. (D)	9	3	32	7	L
CALIFORNIA (cont'd)					
Hawkins, Augustus F. (D)	3	1	33	8	L
Holifield, Chet (D)	7	3	38	1	L
Hosmer, Craig (R)	65	26	14	2	C
Johnson, Harold T. (D)	15	6	35	1	L
King, Cecil R. (D)	7	3	38	1	L
Leggett, Robert L. (D)	5	2	36	4	L
Lipscomb, Glenard P. (R)	85	35	6	1	C
Mailliard, William S. (R)	51	18	17	7	L
Martin, Minor C. (R)	83	34	7	1	C
McFall, John J. (D)	5	2	40	0	L
Miller, George P. (D)	8	3	35	4	L
Moss, John E. (D)	5	2	37	3	L
Roosevelt, James (D)	8	3	33	6	L
Roybal, Edward R. (D)	3	1	38	3	L
Sheppard, Harry R. (D)	13	4	27	11	O
Sisk, B. F. (D)	3	1	38	3	L
Smith, H. Allen (R)	83	35	7	0	C
Talcott, Burt L. (R)	70	28	12	2	C
Teague, Charles M. (R)	65	26	14	2	C
Utt, James B. (R)	93	38	3	1	C
Van Deerlin, Lionel (D)	7	3	38	1	L
Wilson, Bob (R)	78	31	9	2	C
Wilson, Charles H. (D)	9	3	31	8	O
Younger, J. Arthur (R)	74	31	11	0	C
COLORADO					
Aspinall, Wayne N. (D)	13	5	34	3	L
Brotzman, Donald G. (R)	63	26	15	1	C
Chenoweth, J. Edgar (R)	70	28	12	2	C
Rogers, Byron G. (D)	10	4	37	1	L
CONNECTICUT					
Daddario, Emilio Q. (D)	14	5	32	5	L
Giaimo, Robert N. (D)	13	5	35	2	L
Grabowski, Bernard P. (D)	11	4	34	4	L
Monagan, John S. (D)	12	5	37	0	L
CONNECTICUT (cont'd)					
St. Onge, William (D)	11	4	34	4	L
Sibal, Abner W. (R)	39	16	25	1	C
DELAWARE					
McDowell, Harris B., Jr. (D)	5	2	37	3	L
FLORIDA					
Bennett, Charles E. (D)	50	21	21	0	C
Cramer, William C. (R)	83	34	7	1	C
Fascell, Dante B. (D)	15	6	33	3	C
Fuqua, Don (D)	56	20	16	6	C
Gibbons, Sam M. (D)	30	12	28	2	C
Gurney, Edward J. (R)	90	37	4	1	C
Haley, James A. (D)	93	39	3	0	C
Herlong, A. Sydney, Jr. (D)	58	22	16	4	C
Matthews, D. R. (D)	29	12	29	1	C
Pepper, Claude (D)	12	4	30	8	L
Rogers, Paul G. (D)	60	25	17	0	C
Sikes, Robert L. F. (D)	42	16	22	4	L
GEORGIA					
Davis, John W. (D)	31	12	27	3	L
Flynt, John J., Jr. (D)	35	12	22	8	L
Forrester, E. L. (D)	52	14	13	15	L
Hagan, G. Elliott (D)	38	15	24	3	L
Landrum, Phil M. (D)	25	9	27	6	L
Pilcher, J. L. (D)	33	9	18	15	L
Stephens, Robert G., Jr. (D)	39	15	23	4	L
Tuten, J. Russell (D)	37	15	26	1	L
Vinson, Carl (D)	21	7	26	9	L
Weltner, Charles L. (D)	31	13	29	0	L
HAWAII					
Gill, Thomas P. (D)	0	0	36	6	L
Matsunaga, Spark M. (D)	7	3	38	1	L
IDAHO					
Harding, Ralph R. (D)	16	6	31	5	L
White, Compton I., Jr. (D)	11	4	34	4	L

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	%	C	L	NV	12
ILLINOIS					
Anderson, John B. (R)	68	27	13	2	C
Arends, Leslie C. (R)	64	25	14	3	C
Collier, Harold R. (R)	85	33	6	3	C
Dawson, William L. (D)	8	3	35	4	L
Derwinski, Edward J. (R)	82	31	7	4	C
Findley, Paul (R)	79	33	9	0	C
Finnegan, Edward R. (D)	13	5	34	3	L
Gray, Kenneth J. (D)	15	6	35	1	L
Hoffman, Elmer J. (R)	91	32	3	7	C
Kluczynski, John C. (D)	11	4	32	6	L
Libonati, Roland V. (D)	12	5	36	1	L
McClory, Robert (R)	80	31	8	3	C
McLoskey, Robert T. (R)	85	33	6	3	C
Michel, Robert H. (R)	83	30	6	6	C
Murphy, William T. (D)	12	5	36	1	L
O'Hara, Barratt (D)	10	4	38	0	L
Price, Melvin (D)	12	5	37	0	L
Pucinski, Roman C. (D)	15	6	35	1	L
Reid, Charlotte (R)	81	34	8	0	C
Rostenkowski, Daniel (D)	8	3	37	2	L
Rumsfeld, Donald (R)	76	32	10	0	C
Shipley, George E. (D)	19	7	30	5	L
Springer, William L. (R)	54	21	18	3	C
INDIANA					
Adair, E. Ross (R)	72	26	10	6	O
Brademas, John (D)	11	4	34	4	L
Bray, William G. (R)	59	22	15	5	O
Bruce, Donald C. (R)	90	37	4	1	C
Denton, Winfield K. (D)	14	5	32	5	L
Halleck, Charles A. (R)	65	26	14	2	C
Harvey, Ralph (R)	70	28	12	2	C
Madden, Ray J. (D)	14	5	31	6	L
Roudebush, Richard L. (R)	76	32	10	0	C
Roush, J. Edward (D)	13	5	34	3	L
Wilson, Earl (R)	76	31	10	1	C
IOWA					
Bromwell, James E. (R)	71	29	12	1	C
Gross, H. R. (R)	88	37	5	0	C
Hoeven, Charles B. (R)	83	34	7	1	C
Jensen, Ben F. (R)	86	35	6	1	C
Kyl, John R. (R)	67	25	12	5	C
Schwengel, Fred (R)	50	21	21	0	C
Smith, Neal (D)	8	3	34	5	L
KANSAS					
Avery, William H. (R)	72	23	9	10	O
Dole, Robert (R)	86	36	6	0	C
Ellsworth, Robert F. (R)	71	27	11	4	C
Shriver, Garner E. (R)	72	28	11	3	C
Skubitz, Joe (R)	76	32	10	0	C
KENTUCKY					
Chelf, Frank (D)	27	11	30	1	L
Natcher, William H. (D)	29	12	30	0	L
Perkins, Carl D. (D)	14	6	36	0	L
Siler, Eugene (R)	73	29	11	2	O
Snyder, M. G. (R)	90	37	4	1	C
Stubblefield, Frank A. (D)	22	9	32	1	L
Watts, John C. (D)	26	10	29	3	L
LOUISIANA					
Boggs, Hale (D)	16	6	32	4	L
Hebert, F. Edward (D)	28	10	26	6	L
Long, Gillis W. (D)	26	8	23	11	L
Morrison, James H. (D)	16	6	32	4	L
Passman, Otto E. (D)	66	27	14	1	L
Thompson, T. Ashton (D)	26	9	25	8	L
Waggonner, Joe D., Jr. (D)	84	32	6	4	C
Willis, Edwin E. (D)	27	10	27	5	L
MAINE					
McIntire, Clifford G. (R)	59	24	17	1	C
Tupper, Stanley R. (R)	44	18	23	1	C
MARYLAND					
Fallon, George H. (D)	15	6	34	2	L
Friedel, Samuel N. (D)	12	5	36	1	L
Garmatz, Edward A. (D)	15	6	34	2	L
Lankford, Richard E. (D)	16	6	31	5	L
Long, Clarence D. (D)	17	7	35	0	L
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr. (R)	42	16	22	4	L
Morton, Rogers C. B. (R)	62	23	14	5	C
Sickles, Carlton R. (D)	14	6	36	0	L
MASSACHUSETTS					
Bates, William H. (R)	51	21	20	1	C
Boland, Edward P. (D)	15	6	34	2	L
Burke, James A. (D)	10	4	37	1	L
Conte, Silvio O. (R)	48	19	21	2	C
Donohue, Harold D. (D)	14	5	32	5	L
Keith, Hastings (R)	57	24	18	0	C
Macdonald, Torbert H. (D)	3	1	33	8	L
McCormack, John W. (D)		0	0	0	
Martin, Joseph W., Jr. (R)	35	8	15	19	O
Morse, F. Bradford (R)	39	15	23	4	C
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr. (D)	9	4	38	0	L
Philbin, Philip J. (D)	11	4	33	5	L
MICHIGAN					
Bennett, John B. (R)	54	21	18	3	C
Broomfield, William S. (R)	51	20	19	3	C
Cederberg, Elford A. (R)	78	28	8	6	C
Chamberlain, Charles E. (R)	66	27	14	1	C
Diggs, Charles C., Jr. (D)	3	1	33	8	L
Dingell, John D. (D)	0	0	38	4	L
Ford, Gerald R., Jr. (R)	68	26	12	4	C
Griffin, Robert P. (R)	58	21	15	6	C
Griffiths, Martha W. (D)	12	4	30	8	L
Harvey, James (R)	70	26	11	5	C
Hutchinson, Edward (R)	88	35	5	2	C

	%	C	L	NV	12
MICHIGAN (cont'd)					
Johansen, August E. (R)	98	40	1	1	C
Knox, Victor A. (R)	81	30	7	5	C
Lesinski, John (D)	20	7	28	7	C
Meader, George (R)	60	21	14	7	C
Nedzi, Lucien N. (D)	5	2	36	4	L
O'Hara, James G. (D)	10	4	35	3	L
Ryan, Harold M. (D)	15	6	35	1	L
Staebler, Neil (D)	0	0	39	3	L
MINNESOTA					
Blatnik, John A. (D)	3	1	31	10	L
Fraser, Donald M. (D)	0	0	40	2	L
Karth, Joseph E. (D)	12	5	36	1	L
Langen, Odin (R)	73	30	11	1	C
MacGregor, Clark (R)	59	24	17	1	C
Nelsen, Ancher (R)	65	26	14	2	C
Olson, Alec G. (D)	15	6	35	1	L
Quie, Albert H. (R)	59	24	17	1	C
MISSISSIPPI					
Abernethy, Thomas G. (D)	84	31	6	5	C
Colmer, William M. (D)	82	32	7	3	C
Whitten, Jamie L. (D)	76	29	9	4	L
Williams, John Bell (D)	89	34	4	4	C
Winstead, Arthur (D)	90	35	4	3	C
MISSOURI					
Bolling, Richard (D)	3	1	33	8	L
Curtis, Thomas B. (R)	78	31	9	2	C
Hall, Durward G. (R)	93	39	3	0	C
Hull, W. R., Jr. (D)	49	19	20	3	C
Ichord, Richard (D)	30	11	27	4	C
Jones, Paul C. (D)	50	18	18	6	L
Karsten, Frank M. (D)	10	4	37	1	L
Randall, William J. (D)	24	9	28	5	C
Sullivan, Leonor K. (D)	10	4	37	1	L
MONTANA					
Battin, James F. (R)	76	28	9	5	C
Olsen, Arnold (D)	14	6	36	0	L
NEBRASKA					
Beermann, Ralph F. (R)	100	42	0	0	C
Cunningham, Glenn (R)	88	37	5	0	C
Martin, Dave (R)	93	38	3	1	C
NEVADA					
Baring, Walter S. (D)	83	29	6	7	C
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Cleveland, James C. (R)	57	24	18	0	C
Wyman, Louis C. (R)	79	30	8	4	C
NEW JERSEY					
Auchincloss, James C. (R)	63	24	14	4	C
Cahill, William T. (R)	45	18	22	2	C
Daniels, Dominick V. (D)	12	5	36	1	L
Dwyer, Florence P. (R)	45	18	22	2	L
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr. (R)	53	21	19	2	L
Gallagher, Cornelius E. (D)	11	4	32	6	O
Glenn, Milton W. (R)	53	20	18	4	C
Joelson, Charles S. (D)	19	8	34	0	L
Minish, Joseph G. (D)	12	5	37	0	L
Osmers, Frank C., Jr. (R)	51	19	18	5	C
Patten, Edward J., Jr. (D)	12	5	36	1	L
Rodino, Peter W., Jr. (D)	12	5	37	0	L
Thompson, Frank, Jr. (D)	0	0	36	6	L
Wallhauser, George M. (R)	50	19	19	4	C
Widnall, William B. (R)	53	21	19	2	C
NEW MEXICO					
Montoya, Joseph M. (D)	27	10	27	5	L
Morris, Thomas G. (D)	29	12	30	0	L
NEW YORK					
Addabbo, Joseph P. (D)	12	5	37	0	L
Barry, Robert R. (R)	54	22	19	1	C
Becker, Frank J. (R)	80	31	8	3	C
Buckley, Charles A. (D)	6	2	29	11	L
Carey, Hugh L. (D)	13	5	33	4	C
Celler, Emanuel (D)	9	3	32	7	L
Delaney, James J. (D)	12	5	36	1	L
Derounian, Stephen B. (R)	77	30	9	3	C
Dulski, Thaddeus J. (D)	22	9	32	1	L
Farbstein, Leonard (D)	8	3	37	2	L
Fino, Paul A. (R)	38	15	24	3	L
Gilbert, Jacob H. (D)	12	5	37	0	L
Goodell, Charles E. (R)	62	24	15	3	C
Grover, James R., Jr. (R)	62	26	16	0	C
Halpern, Seymour (R)	37	15	26	1	L
Healey, James C. (D)	12	4	30	8	L
Horton, Frank J. (R)	52	22	20	0	C
Kelly, Edna F. (D)	10	3	28	11	L
Keogh, Eugene J. (D)	13	5	34	3	L
Kilburn, Clarence E. (R)	89	32	4	6	C
King, Carleton J. (R)	83	33	7	2	C
Lindsay, John V. (R)	34	14	27	1	C
Miller, William E. (R)	70	21	9	12	C
Multer, Abraham J. (D)	8	3	35	4	L
Murphy, John M. (D)	11	4	34	4	L
O'Brien, Leo W. (D)	16	6	32	4	L
Ostertag, Harold C. (R)	54	22	19	1	C
Pike, Otis G. (D)	29	12	29	1	C
Pillion, John R. (R)	85	33	6	3	C
Pirnie, Alexander (R)	51	21	20	1	C
Powell, Adam Clayton (D)	6	2	31	9	L
Reid, Ogden R. (R)	48	20	22	0	C
Riehlman, R. Walter (R)	55	22	18	2	C
Robison, Howard W. (R)	60	24	16	2	C
Rooney, John J. (D)	12	5	37	0	L
Rosenthal, Benjamin S. (D)	7	3	39	0	L
Ryan, William Fitts (D)	5	2	37	3	O

	%	C	L	NV	12
NEW YORK (cont'd)					
St. George, Katharine (R)	72	26	10	6	C
Stratton, Samuel S. (D)	15	6	34	2	L
Wharton, J. Ernest (R)	73	27	10	5	C
Wydler, John W. (R)	60	24	16	2	C
NORTH CAROLINA					
Bonner, Herbert C. (D)	26	10	29	3	L
Broyhill, James T. (R)	80	33	8	1	C
Cooley, Harold D. (D)	23	8	27	7	L
Fountain, L. H. (D)	51	21	20	1	L
Henderson, David N. (D)	47	17	19	6	L
Jonas, Charles Raper (R)	78	32	9	1	C
Kornegay, Horace R. (D)	51	21	20	1	L
Lennon, Alton (D)	78	31	9	2	C
Scott, Ralph J. (D)	64	20	11	11	C
Taylor, Roy A. (D)	54	21	18	3	L
Whitener, Basil L. (D)	59	24	17	1	L
NORTH DAKOTA					
Andrews, Mark (R)	65	10	6	1	L
Short, Don L. (R)	85	35	6	1	C
OHIO					
Abele, Homer E. (R)	90	36	4	2	C
Ashbrook, John M. (R)	98	40	1	1	C
Ashley, Thomas L. (D)	6	2	35	5	L
Ayres, William H. (R)	50	18	18	6	C
Betts, Jackson E. (R)	79	33	9	0	C
Bolton, Frances P. (R)	56	22	17	3	O
Bolton, Oliver P. (R)	66	27	14	1	C
Bow, Frank T. (R)	74	28	10	4	C
Brown, Clarence J. (R)	75	30	10	2	C
Clancy, Donald D. (R)	88	36	5	1	C
Devine, Samuel L. (R)	85	35	6	1	C
Feighan, Michael A. (D)	23	9	31	2	C
Harsha, William H., Jr. (R)	73	29	11	2	C
Hays, Wayne L. (D)	13	5	34	3	L
Kirwan, Michael J. (D)	11	4	34	4	L
Latta, Delbert L. (R)	80	32	8	2	C
McCulloch, William M. (R)	74	29	10	3	C
Minshall, William E. (R)	89	32	4	6	C
Mosher, Charles A. (R)	61	25	16	1	C
Rich, Carl W. (R)	74	29	10	3	C
Schenck, Paul F. (R)	66	27	14	1	C
Secrest, Robert T. (D)	38	15	24	3	C
Taft, Robert, Jr. (R)	60	23	15	4	C
Vanik, Charles A. (D)	13	5	34	3	L
OKLAHOMA					
Albert, Carl (D)	12	5	37	0	L
Belcher, Page (R)	88	29	4	9	C
Edmondson, Ed (D)	14	5	30	7	O
Jarman, John (D)	46	18	21	3	C
Steed, Tom (D)	21	7	27	8	L
Wickersham, Victor (D)	18	7	31	4	L
OREGON					
Duncan, Robert B. (D)	13	5	34	3	L
Green, Edith (D)	10	4	35	3	L
Norblad, Walter (R)	80	33	8	1	O
Ullman, Al (D)	12	5	37	0	L
PENNSYLVANIA					
Barrett, William A. (D)	11	4	32	6	L
Byrne, James A. (D)	12	5	37	0	L
Clark, Frank M. (D)	15	6	34	2	L
Corbett, Robert J. (R)	49	20	21	1	C
Curtin, Willard S. (R)	63	26	15	1	C
Dague, Paul B. (R)	77	29	9	4	C
Dent, John H. (D)	15	6	35	1	L
Flood, Daniel J. (D)	15	6	35	1	L
Fulton, James G. (R)	54	22	19	1	C
Goodling, George A. (R)	77	30	9	3	C
Green, William J., III (D)	0	0	2	0	L
Holland, Elmer J. (D)	13	5	34	3	L
Johnson, Albert W. (R)	57	8	6	0	C
Kunkel, John C. (R)	60	25	17	0	C
McDade, Joseph M. (R)	39	16	25	1	C
Milliken, William H., Jr. (R)	70	23	10	9	C
Moorehead, William S. (D)	10	4	38	0	L
Morgan, Thomas E. (D)	10	4	37	1	L
Nix, Robert N. C. (D)	10	4	36	2	L
Rhodes, George M. (D)	17	7	35	0	L
Rooney, Fred B. (D)	3	1	21	3	L
Saylor, John P. (R)	64	23	13	6	C
Schneebeli, Herman T. (R)	58	23	17	2	C
Schweiker, Richard S. (R)	50	21	21	0	C
Toll, Herman (D)	10	4	37	1	L
Weaver, James D. (R)	63	26	15	1	C
Whalley, J. Irving (R)	46	18	21	3	C
RHODE ISLAND					
Fogarty, John E. (D)	16	6	32	4	L
St. Germain, Fernand J. (D)	13	5	34	3	L
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Ashmore, Robert T. (D)	68	28	13	1	C
Dorn, W. J. Bryan (D)	83	34	7	1	C
McMillan, John L. (D)	56	20	16	6	L
Rivers, L. Mendel (D)	45	17	21	4	L
Watson, Albert W. (D)	76	28	9	5	C
SOUTH DAKOTA					
Berry, E. Y. (R)	81	33	8	1	C
Reifel, Ben (R)	66	27	14	1	C
TENNESSEE					
Bass, Ross (D)	16	5	27	10	O
Baker, Irene B. (R)	100	4	0	0	C
Brock, William E., III (R)	72	28	11	3	C
Davis, Clifford (D)	21	6	23	13	L
Everett, Robert A. (D)	28	11	28	3	L
Evins, Joe L. (D)	14	5	30	7	L

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	%	C	L	NV	12
TENNESSEE (cont'd)					
Fulton, Richard (D)	15	6	33	3	L
Murray, Tom (D)	50	20	20	2	L
Quillen, James H. (R)	93	38	3	1	C
TEXAS					
Alger, Bruce (R)	95	40	2	0	C
Beckworth, Lindley (D)	33	14	28	0	L
Brooks, Jack (D)	10	4	38	0	L
Burleson, Omar (D)	68	27	13	2	L
Casey, Robert R. (D)	76	31	10	1	C
Dowdy, John (D)	78	31	9	2	C
Fisher, O. Clark (D)	83	34	7	1	C
Foreman, Ed (R)	95	39	2	1	C
Gonzalez, Henry B. (D)	5	2	39	1	L
Kilgore, Joe M. (D)	60	25	17	0	C
Mahon, George H. (D)	40	17	25	0	L
Patman, Wright (D)	17	7	34	1	L
Pickle, Jake (D)	33	3	6	0	C
Poage, William R. (D)	38	15	25	2	L
Pool, Joe (D)	95	39	2	1	O
Purcell, Graham (D)	26	10	28	4	L
Roberts, Ray (D)	44	18	23	1	L
Rogers, Walter (D)	53	21	19	2	C
Teague, Olin E. (D)	57	20	15	7	L

	%	C	L	NV	12
TEXAS (cont'd)					
Thomas, Albert (D)	15	6	33	3	L
Thompson, Clark W. (D)	13	5	33	4	L
Wright, James C. (D)	20	7	28	7	L
Young, John (D)	14	6	36	0	L
UTAH					
Burton, Laurence J. (R)	71	25	10	7	C
Lloyd, Sherman P. (R)	63	26	15	1	C
VERMONT					
Stafford, Robert T. (R)	54	22	19	1	C
VIRGINIA					
Abbitt, Watkins M. (D)	81	29	7	6	C
Broyhill, Joel T. (R)	77	30	9	3	C
Downing, Thomas N. (D)	40	16	24	2	L
Gary, J. Vaughan (D)	38	15	25	2	L
Hardy, Porter, Jr. (D)	28	11	29	2	L
Jennings, W. Pat (D)	28	11	29	2	L
Marsh, John O., Jr. (D)	71	30	12	0	C
Poff, Richard H. (R)	78	32	9	1	C
Smith, Howard W. (D)	67	25	12	5	C
Tuck, William M. (D)	81	34	8	0	C
WASHINGTON					
Hansen, Julia B. (D)	8	3	35	4	L
Horan, Walt (R)	69	27	12	3	C

	%	C	L	NV	12
WASHINGTON (cont'd)					
May, Catherine (R)	65	26	14	2	C
Pelly, Thomas M. (R)	63	26	15	1	C
Stinson, K. William (R)	80	33	8	1	C
Tollefson, Thor C. (R)	65	24	13	5	C
Westland, Jack (R)	81	30	7	5	C
WEST VIRGINIA					
Heckler, Ken (D)	10	4	38	0	L
Kee, Elizabeth (D)	8	2	23	17	O
Moore, Arch A., Jr. (R)	61	25	16	1	C
Slack, John M., Jr. (D)	15	6	35	1	L
Staggers, Harley O. (D)	20	8	33	1	C
WISCONSIN					
Byrnes, John W. (R)	66	27	14	1	C
Johnson, Lester R. (D)	20	8	33	1	L
Kastenmeier, Robert W.(D)	15	6	35	1	L
Laird, Melvin R. (R)	72	28	11	3	C
O'Konski, Alvin E. (R)	50	19	19	4	C
Reuss, Henry S. (D)	7	3	39	0	L
Schadeberg, Henry C. (R)	83	35	7	0	C
Thomson, Vernon W. (R)	75	30	10	2	C
Van Pelt, William K. (R)	89	32	4	6	C
Zablocki, Clement J. (D)	10	4	37	1	L
WYOMING					
Harrison, William Henry(R)	79	33	9	0	C

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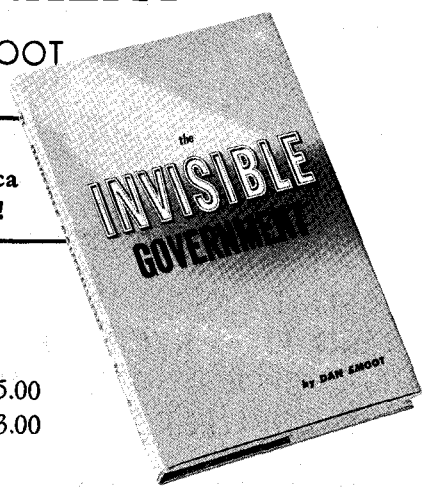

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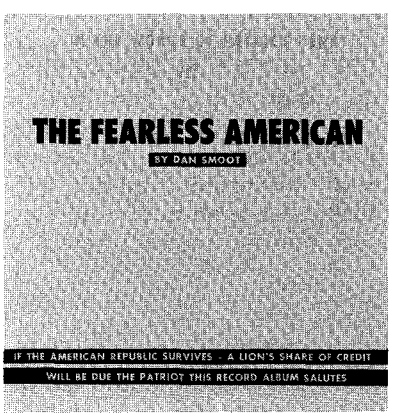
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